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TWO LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD,

AND

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

Οὐτ' αὐτῷ καὶ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλω τεύχων.

PROVERBS.

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PREFACE.

IT is rather a discouraging circumstance to those who wish to interest themselves in public affairs, that the number of political pamphlets, from the pens of able and known authors, with which the English press at present abounds, renders it scarcely probable that the production of an obscure individual, though an ardent well-wisher of his country, should meet with notice and attention; much less with that extensive circulation which is necessary to promulgate his good intentions.

Satisfied, however, with the purity of his own principles, and the rationality of the doctrine he supports, the author of the following pages ventures to stand forward in a public point of view; he wishes to meet with candid investigation, not illiberal misconstruction.

Happy, though not to be envied, is the condition of that man, whose situation in life enables him to provide for his family and dependants, without feeling the inconveniences arising from poverty, or the troublesome

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some sensations so often experienced by the humane and compassionate heart.

To such, however, he does not address the following pages; but to the rich, who *can* feel for others, and to the poor, who *must* feel for themselves: to the *middling* ranks too, because they participate with both, and because they are eventually as nearly concerned in the general evil, as either the superior or subordinate classes of society. But above all, he more particularly addresses these observations to the indigent and laborious poor of all denominations. It is on them that the great burden of public calamity falls with the greatest weight; and to them it is he would wish principally to recommend the most effective measures for supporting the general misfortune; and, by such conduct, for restoring internal peace to the nation, and happiness and prosperity to its inhabitants.

TO THE
DUKE OF BEDFORD.

MY LORD,

I REGARD that man, who stands boldly forward in a time of crisis and public agitation, in support of the doctrines by which his country has long and happily subsisted, and which his heart espouses from principles of patriotic virtue, as worthy the thanks of his countrymen, and deserving of commendation for his zeal and patriotism.

On this account, I shall take to myself some credit, though I hope not more than my countrymen will be ready to allow me. But at the same time, I regard those who strive to attain power and popularity, by *professing* the love of their country when they do not feel it, as deserving not only censure and exposure, but also the abhorrence of those very beings whom they industriously endeavour to mislead.

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To apply my meaning will not be difficult.—The crop of sedition and discontent, the seeds of which your Grace has so copiously sown, promised a plentiful and an abundant harvest, had not the fickle of superior power been timely employed to cut it ere it became ripe, and the foot of authority to trample it down.

Your Grace is widely mistaken, if you imagine your conduct has tended to advance the good of the people. The discontents you have fomented, have made them miserable; and the time will soon come, when that misery will draw upon you their hatred and abhorrence. Be wise in time. The Duke of ORLEANS, one of the deceivers of the French people, was, for a time, beloved by them, because he preached the doctrine of blood and assassination: and ORLEANS fell by his own doctrine. The doctrine of RESISTANCE, broached by Mr. Fox, your *party friend*, and encouraged by yourself, may one day fall on your own head. Among a riotous rabble, there will be found men who will love your wealth better than your person, and will sacrifice the one, for the attainment of the other.

The doctrine of resistance is a new and a fatal one. The doctrine of submission is an established and approved one; and has been understood, almost, since the creation of the world.

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The wickedness of some parts of mankind, rendered subordination necessary; and intellectual superiority made it natural. The weakest will go always to the wall; and *your* system is alone calculated to excite the struggle.

Mankind are not so much improved, that they can live together in more purity, or under less restrictions, than they used to do. Unfortunately, the present race of men have not much mended the ancient morality. Patriotic and domestic virtue are qualities rare as ever to be found; and vice, bare-faced and unabashed, is much more frequently seen, and much more openly encouraged.

Much better, my Lord, than in encouraging disaffection and discontent, if you would employ your time and talents in doing *real* benefit to the poor: but this *is not* your aim. I can readily conceive, that while your proud spirit condescends to encourage a person of such principles as Thelwall, you not only despise the man, but also abhor his doctrines. Thelwall's aim is to elevate himself by the distresses and disturbance of his country, when plunder and booty will be abundant; while you are seeking popularity, in order to save electioneering expenses, and, possibly, to elevate yourself and your party, by that popularity, to the highest offices and dignities of the state.

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If you were as seriously disposed to befriend the poor as you pretend to be, there are modes by which you might much more effectually do so, than by making them dissatisfied and uneasy. Assist them *privately*, instead of *pretending* to assist them with *noise* and *clamour*, and with *many words*! Let them *see you* do one good action, by putting your hand into your own purse for their relief; and then, indeed, you may blazon it forth with whatever eloquence Mr. Fox may *afford* to lend your Lordship.

The present scarcity of provisions is a subject which merits the most serious deliberation. Turn your mind to the consideration of it--- Investigate its causes, since you appear to be so well acquainted with, and so much to lament its effects. It is a subject in which every individual must feel himself personally concerned; and, though more especially those whose situation in life, prevents the possibility of their providing for their families a frugal, wholesome fare, even in times of plenty and peace, yet every man of feeling must perceive, and enter into, the general misfortune. The rich, can at *no time*, I hope, behold the distresses of their fellow creatures, without sympathising with them. In the present calamitous period however, they must be totally destitute of every feeling of humanity and benevolence, (which I do not think is their character)

character) to view their wants with an eye of stoicism and frigid neglect.

I do not think the generality of the people, however, are so much blinded by your pretended attachment as you imagine. Some very good friends of their country have already informed them of the deep scheme which was carrying on, in order to render your electioneering business fall easier upon you*.

Under the severe expences of the last general election, OPPOSITION long continued to groan; and the inconveniences felt by those who supported them, tended to sour their tempers, and add fresh malignancy to their natural inveteracy. But it never was imagined that, in order to obtain their ends, OPPOSITION would condescend to mingle with the mob, and their general, Mr. Fox, to join Mr. Thelwall, a fixpenny retailer of sedition, in mounting a public rostrum, and haranguing a multitude composed of the lowest classes of the people; thus publicly avowing to the world, the intimate and close connection that subsisted between them. Till this period arrived, even those who knew your party well, could not conceive you capable of forming so disgraceful a coalition. Nor would the circumstance of your having lectured the Correspond-

* Vide a late diurnal publication called the TOMAHAWK.

ing Society and Mr. Thelwall's mob, in Palace-yard, have satisfied them in this idea, had not they been summoned by public advertisement, to assemble together with the electors of Westminster, on the same spot (and putting the best construction on it) for the same purposes, as Mr. Thelwall's assemblies generally met. Mr. Fox's coalition with Lord North, disgraceful as it was, was nothing to his coalition with Mr. Thelwall; since we then saw the able statesman and the eloquent senator, degraded into the convener of the Corresponding Society, and the lecturer of a Saint-Monday mob.

MY LORD DUKE; I have often heard you do not want for prudential sense; if so, I am amazed you do not see through the plots existing against you---I am amazed you do not discover that, although their plan is to attain popularity, it is also to make *you* pay for it. Popularity, in a general election, will go a great way; but as there will still remain much to be paid, your Grace is the man who will be expected to disburse on the occasion.

This is an excellent manœuvre of Messrs. Fox and Sheridan; and, according to your present conduct, their manœuvre seems to have answered well. They make the people believe they are seriously their friends, and they make you believe that they are working for your benefit

nefit and advantage. If your vanity has led you on hitherto, let your good fenfe lead you back; for you will find, to your coft, that when the general election comes, you will neither be able to recede nor to retrench.

Mr. Fox's hopes are not to be given up readily. The fulfilment of them would be of too much importance to himfelf and *his* friends. Should he ever be feated on the treasury bench, which is certainly his aim, we fhould then fee how long he would remain the man of the people. I, therefore, confider Mr. Fox as the man moft blameable in this bufinefs; and believe your Grace to be no farther culpable than as you fhut your eyes to conviction, and fuffer yourfelf to be led forward without confidering the confequences.

As, from the character which your GRACE bears, I am willing to believe you a man of fome principle, and fome good qualities of heart; I am forry to fee you thus deceived and impofed upon. But thofe whofe hearts are the moft open naturally, are the moft likely to be mifled and perverted by artful and defigning men. Thus, perhaps, I fhall pay what you may think but a bad compliment, when I attribute the failing to your head, rather than your heart. One or other, however, is certainly much in fault; and I hope, for your own fake, and the
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fake of your country, that it is your head alone. Where all is right about the heart, there is no fear but the head will, sooner or later, be corrected.

You are yet a young man, and young men generally act precipitately. I dare say you do not act with the positive intention of doing wrong ; nor are you aware that your actions will draw upon you censure and reproach, as some of your actions have latterly done in a great degree.

When you illiberally and injudiciously attacked Mr. BURKE's pension in the House, you little imagined that that attack would draw upon you so severe, so serious a retort. A reply to your attack has been followed by an exposure of those means by which your ancestors procured their vast estates ; and that reply has done, unfortunately, more harm (*in the eyes of ignorant people*) to the cause of rational and necessary subordination, than all the harangues, arguments, and assertions of all the ranters against kings and nobility put together.

The system which your conduct has, in some measure, tended to encourage, is less a system of democracy, than a system of equality. Those who are of the lowest classes of society espouse such a doctrine, because any change must eventually benefit them. But should such an opinion
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gain ground, it will by no means answer your purpose. In fomenting discontent, therefore, you are doing harm to your own cause---you make men idle, and consequently poor; and a spirit of revolt is the most probable consequence that will ensue.

If it could be ascertained, what are the real causes of discontent, they might be easily remedied. A sick man may be cured of his fever, and the wounded man may be healed; but the man who is depressed in mind, or labours under the horrors of a sick imagination, is beyond the reach of medicine or art. Thus discontents, arising from imaginary evils, are the most dangerous to the peace and welfare of society. The ministers of government, let you paint them how you will, have their eyes and ears open to the distresses of the poor. The late conduct of Mr. PITT has very plainly shewn this; and his readiness to alleviate their distresses, and to ease their burthens, must sensibly have opened their eyes to the fallacy of opinions that have been propagated among them.

Mr. Thelwall, one of the modern field-preaching reformers, who is himself, I take it, as the "*scum of the earth*"—would fain instigate tumult and revolution; in doing this he has his own purposes to answer, and would gain popularity in order to become dictator general, when he

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has pulled down the old constitution and erected a new one, on the basis of French politics and French barbarities. Do not think that, because your proceedings assisted his plans, that if ever that fatal day should arrive, he will regard you as a friend; far from it, he will consider you as one of his opponents in the struggle for power; and as such, will hastily precipitate you to destruction.

My Lord Duke, beware how you proceed, or, WOOBURN IS LOST!---If you pursue *your* present line of conduct, I fear, it will one day become forfeit to the crown of these realms---heaven forbid!---If you encourage Thelwall in pursuit of *his* plans, I fear, it will one day become a hovel for the rabble, instead of the princely seat of the RUSSELS.---In either case, if you go on, WOOBURN IS LOST!---retract then in time, before we see a confiscation take place, or your beautiful seat become the seat of riot, for as many of the rabble as it will hold.

From the multitude whom you have blinded and misled, with the idea that you was working for something very like a Republican form of government, you would then have little to expect; they would then, when it was too late, discover their error, and begin their career, by wrecking their vengeance on you and your friends, for having so seriously and artfully deceived

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ed them. For my own part, I should feel as much inveteracy against the man who endeavoured to injure my sovereign, or to overturn the constitution, under which I live happily and in safety, that whatever were the effects produced by his endeavours, I should always be happy to see him brought as a traitor to the scaffold.

As I hold myself some-where about the middling rank of society, and have had some years of experience over my head, in which I have observed, occasionally, the different commotions that agitated mens minds in the regions of politics; I have learned to look on both sides of the question, and to form conclusive opinions, not in consequence of those formed by other men, but deduced from the motives that seemed to operate as the stimuli to their different actions.

I have heard and scouted doctrines whose tendency were dark and nubiferous, because I am a lover of tranquillity; and where I have seen evils existing, I have lamented them, not so much, perhaps, on account of their consequences, as because I recollected that no human institution can be perfect.

But, I must confess I have ever loudly reprobated those, whom I have seen endeavouring to disturb the tranquillity of the realm---the evils they complain of, will redress themselves---at

any rate, those who talk of them so much are only making them more severely felt; and by exciting disorder, are encreasing the evils they would crush---had your Grace never made any reflections on Mr. BURKE and his PENSION, you would never have drawn on yourself what, as the man of some feeling (which, I believe you may be) must have very severely hurt you; and had not the people, through the instructions of certain ill-designing men become riotous and ill-disposed, they had been spared the disagreeable sensations occasioned by the two bills, which have lately passed the two houses of parliament. As violent passions encrease, violent measures are taken to assuage and oppose them; in the same way that the madman who is first confined by a strait waistcoat, is afterwards obliged to be chained to the floor. Methods of defence have always followed the invention of offensive weapons, and as danger in all cases has encreased, fresh precautions have been found necessary, and fresh exertions have been made to oppose it.

Whatever is consonant to the voice of reason, must be right; and surely reason tells us in the language of moral virtue, philosophy, and religion, that all opposition which may create wretchedness to, or cause the blood of our fellow creatures to flow, must be wrong.

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Till the feuds that have been excited by opposition shall subside, our poor will never again know the blessings of contentment.---When the strong wind blows over the surface of the deep, the great waters are disturbed, and the roarings of the troubled main are heard afar off:---The ships are wrecked upon the shore, and the hopes of thousands are destroyed; but when the winds cease the ocean sinks into repose.

Thus the tumults and disorders that have long agitated our country will never cease, till the STORMS OF OPPOSITION shall subside, and, like the high tumultuous passions which they create, shall sink silently to rest.

That this desirable epoch may soon arrive, must be the earnest wish of every true Englishman; and I will make bold to say, YOUR GRACE is no true patriot if you do not think so: for heaven's sake then, think a little on what you are doing---recede ere it is too late, and do not give Mr. Fox and Mr. SHERIDAN an opportunity of laughing any longer at one, whom they are so grossly deceiving and misleading.

I hope the contents of this letter will be taken as they are meant. If they should not, the only effects I dread, will be the loss of my time, and the loss of my labour; but should it produce a good effect, I shall deem myself the happier, because

cause I think your innate principles are naturally congenial with my own, had they not been perverted and corrupted.

Having said thus much to your GRACE, I am now going to address my fellow citizens and countrymen; and I hope to convince them, that those cannot be their real friends, who would advise them to run headlong to destruction with their eyes shut, and shut too after being blinded by having the powder of temptation and deceit thrown into them.

My Lord, I wish you all happiness and satisfaction; and, as the readiest road, I wish you may speedily retreat from the party you have embraced, and reform your present conduct, by retiring from all connection with men, whose names but badly agree with the dignity which yours, in your high state, ought to support.

TO
THE PEOPLE.

*"YONDER is a vessel, tossed on the main---it will be soon wrecked upon the shore---let us hasten down to plunder, let us massacre the crew, and save only such as will assist us in making the booty."---*Such, my friends, is the language that has been held out to us. Such have been the hopes of plunder of those who have been endeavouring to blow up the storm; but shall we, who call ourselves Englishmen and Christians, proceed in this barbarous manner. Such, it is most true, have been the pursuits of those unfortunate people, the French:---The wreck of their constitution has offered pillage and bloodshed; but after confusion and disorder have reigned so long among them; after their streets have so often run with blood, are they made happy? They may have settled their constitution; but is there in France less tyranny than there was before? Are they more free under their Republican form of government? or rather,

ther, are they more free under the despotism of their FIVE KINGS, than under the arbitrary dominion of one lawful sovereign?

Yes. They are more free to MURDER their fellow citizens---their fellow creatures. But is this LIBERTY? Is this the sort of *freedom* you would wish to gain? I am sure, I know the answer *almost every* individual would make.--- Since then, we see that so much blood has been spilled, so many horrors and barbarities have been heaped on, and committed by that nation, and so much time and labour have been lost, and all without obtaining any good end; should not we be mad to follow so dreadful and pernicious an example?

There are those among us, who would fain persuade us to certain actions, by misleading our understandings, and corrupting our hearts; but as I have seen through their intentions and plans, myself, I would wish my countrymen to see through them also.

It may be asked, why there should be found men, so much the enemies of our country, as to wish to mislead us to destruction, by advising us to follow pernicious examples. They *are not* OUR ENEMIES, perhaps, and, yet though they act without *enmity*, they act as our worst of foes. They have their own ends to answer, and they would

would wish to use us as the purblind instruments, the cats-paws, for their purpose.

Let us consider what have been the temptations they have held out to us ;---they have said that a revolution in this country will give us all that we at present want, that provisions will be cheap, and that we need not work. They have spoken to this intent, if not in these words ; and they have found fault with those rulers, by whom we are at present governed, from a desire to rouse us, to a fatal and desperate resistance : thank Heaven, however, we are not reduced so low as this !

I shall first enquire, whether that sort of resistance, which is the forerunner of revolution, will really tend to alleviate our present burthens, and to ease us of those distresses of which they teach us so heavily to complain. If it will, let us make resistance ; but if it should appear that in the end it will rather encrease than lighten them, for Heaven's sake, let us rather bear those we already know of, than run the risk of feeling others, of which we know not the weight and danger.

In the first place, we will deliberately consider, how far a Republican form of government will be calculated to encrease our felicity ; to secure our liberties, and to ease the burthens we bear under a limited, and well-regulated monarchy.

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If there were a certainty that ships might be sent round the world without meeting any storms, they might be built much lighter than they are; but as those who go long voyages, look either for enemies or storms, it has been found necessary to fortify and strengthen them. By the same rule, no government can exist without making precautions to defend itself against its enemies; and, *without such*, we know that no government *can* exist. This is an unfortunate truth. Our external enemies are less formidable, and less to be feared, than our internal. We can fortify our houses against house-breakers, but we cannot guard against those who privately pillage us under our roofs. The invidious wretches, who are endeavouring to undermine our constitution, know this. They have first hoped that an invasion would take place, and thereby give them an opportunity of assisting and joining our adversaries. Under this idea, they have tried to rouse the unthinking multitude to take up arms, after having sown the seeds of sedition and discord among them.

But what were these men, who advised so desperate a step? Men of desperate and low fortunes, whose only hopes were in confusion and plunder. Of this description are certain field-preachers

preachers and lecturers who have been among us.

The views of Mr. Fox, the DUKE of BEDFORD, and others of their party, have been very different. But of this we shall see more hereafter.

The doctrine which has been circulated so freely among us, the object of which has been to induce us to the destruction of the present government, and to follow that of France, has been no less absurd, than it has been deep-laid and dangerous.

The constitution of England, pure and noble as the principles are upon which it is founded, has always had enemies to oppose it; and at this we need not wonder, because we are told, that even in Heaven, there were found spirits, who opposed the only government that can be *positively* perfect.

No political constitution was ever formed on general principles, which tended so much as ours to the benefit and good of mankind. Since its first formation there has been a progression of improvement; and if, in so vast a system, there have been a few oversights; and if, in so complicated and extensive a work, a few errors and abuses have crept in, can it be wondered at? Shall we be so blind as to imagine, that because, in a building which has employed the ablest

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architects,

architects, and the best surveyors, some close observer may find an imperfection, that that observer could, of himself, erect a more perfect building? By no means. It is an easy task to find faults in the most perfect of all human institutions; but it is not so easy to remedy them. This task has long been the business of Opposition in parliament; who, like the little curs that bark and snap at the heels of passengers, have been snarling at ministers and their proceedings for a long time past.

But of this we will not speak at present; but confine ourselves simply to the enquiry of how far a Republican form of government is suited to the genius and disposition of the English nation.

When the Roman republic flourished, and was happy, because its people were virtuous, there was no nation under heaven so powerful or so free; but when luxury crept in, and vice gained ground among them, their power decreased, and their freedom was lost. But Englishmen are more powerful and more free than ever were the Romans; because their government is more fixed, and more permanent. The extremes of despotism in an unlimited monarchy, have ever been dreaded and opposed by Englishmen; and the extremes of licentiousness in a republic, have never been sought, or wished for, but by the
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desperate and ill-designing among them. The admirable system by which the King of England exercises his power, regulated, without diminishing his authority, and restrained, without degrading his dignity, can never be improved upon: nor will the outcries of a factious and disorderly set of people lessen that authority; but will rather induce the representatives of the sober part of the nation to ratify and strengthen it.

I have somewhere read, as a character of Englishmen, that they are a hot-headed and violent set of people, prone to disturbance, and fond of changes, though of a temper that revolts at inhumanity and bloodshed; but, notwithstanding this, that the plain good-sense for which they have ever been celebrated, will always get the better of these propensities; and that reason, by correcting their natural propensity to violence, will regulate and moderate their actions.

How far the former part of this assertion is true, my knowledge of the English character does not, I confess, render me competent to judge; but I am well assured, that the *latter part* of it is true. There is a sober and quiet sense in Englishmen, that always dictates in the end, what is fittest to be done. They are led away for a time by passion; but soon return to their senses and their reason.

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While I continue assured of this fact, (and I am not apprehensive that this trait of our national character will be easily perverted) I have no fears from those artful and designing men, whose interest and business it is to excite discontents, and to promote disturbance among us.

But I sincerely trust, that Englishmen have more of that good-sense of which I have just been speaking, than to suffer themselves to be deluded away by false prospects and illusive temptations, or to be long pleased with those fine speeches we hear, as children are pleased by puppet-shews and pantomimes.

The French people, who have got the liberty and the government they wished for, are miserable under it. And how is this? The very men who preached against monarchy and tyranny, have usurped all the power of monarchs, and have become greater tyrants than France ever before knew. Under the old form of government, we heard sometimes of horrid executions; but they now lose part of their horrors, because we hear of them every day; and, though I do not think that in the English disposition there is any inherent barbarity, there is no knowing, when the reins of authority are once broken, how far madness and folly may carry them, when they have been worked up to the pitch of frenzy, by those pretended friends,
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the deep-defigning preachers of sedition. I believe, with all the impudence of their assertions, and all the falsity of their doctrines, there is no man among them who will pretend to stand forward and assert, that the French revolution has been attended with any single good consequence to that unfortunate nation. You will naturally reply, that you are not advised, nor do those who are disposed to riot, intend to go such lengths as *they* have none. I dare say that may be true. Nor did those who commenced the French revolution intend it either. Quite the contrary :---it was their wise intention to model their constitution on the principle of ours---a sure sign in what light that wise and intelligent nation regarded our country, when they hoped, by following our example, to make themselves as happy and as formidable as we are. Had they done this only, and there stopped, they had now probably been flourishing and happy. No one, I believe, who called himself an Englishman, but was rejoiced to hear when the first blow there was struck in the cause of liberty. We who, being free, know the true blessings of freedom, went with them in our hearts: they had our good wishes for success; and the prosperity of the French nation was at that epoch as dear to us as our own.

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But, when the scene changed—when we saw the sovereign treated with contempt—when we found madness pervade all ranks of people, and that a system of equality instead of equity was what they laboured to establish—how did the wrath of Englishmen kindle in an instant!!

Since that period they have been going on from excess to excess, from horror to horror, till they are now plunged deeper in guilt, and consequently removed farther from peace, from happiness, and from prosperity, than they ever were under the most abject and depressed state of slavery. ✓

What reason have we to hope, that if tumults should break out *here*, we shall be more wise than they? surely we have none; and the inevitable consequence of revolt is FAMINE, MISERY, DESTRUCTION, and DEATH!

I know the answer many will make, on reading this; they will say, We are distressed and poor! we are oppressed and ill-used! Perhaps so; but I am persuaded they would never have thought half so much of it, but for those meddling and pretended friends, who have been talking so much about it. England, however, in spite of them, is flourishing and happy; and though sometimes we feel certain things as hardships, a change will undoubtedly encrease rather than diminish those hardships.

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The sturdy oak, whose strong and spreading branches oppose the high wind, will be blown down; while the sapling by its side, bending to the storm, will rise uninjured when it ceases. Better then, as the shrub, to bend to the wind, that blows partially against us, than to risk entire destruction by opposition. But this is not all; the oak may crush the sapling in its fall. It therefore behoves us not only to bend ourselves, but to counsel and admonish others to bend to it also.

Our enemies at home, have been endeavouring to frighten us into resistance to the measures of ministers, by way of *forcing* them to make peace with their friends the French, (in *whose pay* they are, and who, being jealous of our happiness, would fain destroy it;) and, for that reason, they have been talking much of the power and resolution of our enemies.—The dread of an INVASION caused a serious alarm in this country last year; and, for a time, occupied and agitated the public mind: but that project, like the other projects of French visionaries, burst, while yet a bubble, in the air.

The loss of Holland next excited alarms and apprehensions, and while the French were supposed to be enriched and strengthened by conquest, it was naturally dreaded that loss to ourselves would ensue.

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I have now endeavoured, in as few words as possible, to ascertain how far happiness and ease might be expected from a change in the government in this country; such a change, as our field-preachers have advised, and think it appears most probable, that the trial would be attended with fatal and dreadful consequences.

I shall now consider the plans of *another* set of men, who call themselves REFORMERS. Men, much more dangerous to the public peace, from their powers, eloquence, and numbers, than those whom we have already spoken of; besides which, from the *apparent* candour and justice which they profess.

These (the most formidable among whom, are those in parliament) have, to a man, some private purpose to answer. In my Letter to *His Grace* the DUKE OF BEDFORD, I have laid open some of their views; and we will now take a short view of the motives of OPPOSITION, for always and indiscriminately opposing the measures of Administration.

THE KING, through his ministers, receives money from the people, to regulate the laws, to guard, to attend to, and improve the Constitution. That one man is incompetent to this arduous task, is undeniable. His Majesty's ministers are the guards beneath him; and it is their duty to attend to public affairs, and by
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passing and repealing certain acts, for the enforcement of the laws, to advance the prosperity of the nation, and the peace and happiness of the kingdom in general.

But since parliaments existed, there have ever been among their members men who deemed themselves equally skilful, and equally worthy of the office, to which they saw others aspire and advance.

These men have made it their business, to counteract and to oppose the designs and the plans of ministry, without any attention to reason or rectitude, and actuated alone by selfish piques and interested motives.

But opposition in parliament never went to such lengths as they have latterly done.

What might be called the emulous envy of power, is degenerated into personal malice; and it is wonderful that Englishmen, the solidity of whose good sense has so often been the obstacle to, and the terror of the enemies of the constitution, should be blinded by the artifices of certain members of opposition, from seeing, at once, through the thin veil of envy and malice that covers their proceedings.

Those who look a little deeper than the surface, have long seen through their designs.— Their open and violent opposition is not made, after all, so much against ministers as

against their power ; and, if ever it should happen that Mr. Fox, and his party, should get into power, the deluded people will find, to their astonishment and grief, that they were no longer their friends than as it answered their purposes to be so.

The LOAVES and FISHES are what they aim at, and *not* the GOOD of THE PEOPLE.

There is no doubt, that if a change of ministry should ever take place, Mr. Fox will, at least, make a shew of easing the people of their burthens ; but those burthens will (with much lamentation and fair speaking, on Mr. Fox's part) be again found necessary ; and his eloquence, which, for a while, may amuse you, and palliate and excuse the taxes he would impose, would at last sink in its value, and give way to the torrent of another opposition, who would arise, in pursuit of his example, to crush and overwhelm him in his turn.

In the course of the American war, OPPOSITION made their first open attack on the conduct of his Majesty and ministers, in a business, which related so nearly to the interests of this kingdom ; and which attack, and their subsequent conduct, tended to further and assist the designs of our enemies.

Whatever might be the motives which induced the party to take such steps, it has been asserted,

asserted, and I believe with good foundation, that a great part of the expences were necessarily incurred, in consequence of that violent and ill-timed opposition;—thus it appears how much we are obliged to them for their exertions.

All the opposition that is made to a question of war or peace, should be made *before* that question is decided upon. While the business is in debate, is the time for them to speak out, or ever after hold their tongues.

In many cases that might be adduced, the opposition of Mr. Fox, and his party, has tended to the injury of this country, not only by encreasing our expences; but, as in the case of the negociations between us and the EMPRESS of RUSSIA, by fomenting the quarrel, and enlarging the difference between the parties, by espousing her cause, and assisting and forwarding her designs.

But the people who regard Mr. Fox as their FRIEND, and as a *true* FRIEND of the constitution, have forgotten some of the most marked events of his life. They have forgotten that he who was once the *enemy* of the poor, can be their enemy again, when it suits his purpose better to be so, than to be any longer their friend.

The poor, some few years back, reviled Mr. Fox as much as his greatest admirers and best friends,

friends, now revile Mr. PITT. But since his shameful (or shameless) coalition with LORD NORTH, not less remarkable for its infamy, than famous for its effects, Mr. Fox, by altering his tone and his professions, has gained some credit on the score of good intention, though *his integrity*, after that affair, must not be mentioned.

Those who wear fine clothes, must pay a fine price for them; and those who prefer fine speeches and fine theories, to substantial truths and solid practices, must submit to pay a high price for their pleasure, and not murmur afterwards, because they cost them too much.

Some men, the great admirers of Mr. Fox, may rest contented to live in hopes on his fine speeches, as theameleon lives upon air; and they had better live at ease in hopes, than live to see those hopes disappointed, in the exercise of Mr. Fox's ministerial functions.

But I have heard a very pointed observation, very much to the present purpose, which may not be true, but which, as I have never found it contradicted, I suppose cannot be refuted; this is, that when a subscription to relieve the wants of the poor was humanely set on foot by some of the feeling and benevolent among our nobility and gentry, in the list of numerous benefactors, neither the name of Mr. Fox, nor any of his party, who are so ready to cry out aloud
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about the distreffes of the poor, were to be found among them. This is a strange truth; but the motive no doubt was, that none of them would subscribe, because, truly, the benevolent intention was not projected by themselves. This sensation of jealousy, did *vast honour* to their hearts, and plainly unveiled their amiable and good intentions.

No man is more *verbally* benevolent, or more generously profuse in promise, than Mr. Fox. His conduct is in itself a fable. He copies in his actions the charitable priest, who, when a poor man besought of him alms, chid him for begging, and would not bestow on him even one farthing; but when the poor man begged his *bleffing*, the charitable priest bade him kneel down, and bestowed it on him.---“ Truly,” said the poor man, “ you highly prize your own blessing, when you think it of less value even than a farthing. You refused me a farthing; but I hold your benediction of less value than it, since you bestowed that after refusing the other.”

After this fashion Mr. Fox bestows on the poor his TEARS, his FINE SPEECHES, and his LAMENTATIONS; but when the box is brought round for his benevolence, he turns his back on the collector.

To quit the subject of Mr. Fox's *affection* for the poor, which is really too ridiculous to be dwelt

dwelt on any longer, and to return to that of the views of OPPOSITION, we must observe, that it is their interest, as well as their wish, to foment discontents: it is the interest of their dark and mysterious plans to excite them where they do not exist.

But if we examine men's real minds, we shall find, that the serious discontents occasioned by the scarcity and dearness of provisions, and other real misfortunes of the moment, are caused less by the circumstances themselves, than by the perversion and artful manœuvres of those men, who pretend to wish for peace, and would make *one upon any terms*, however disgraceful, provided their ends can be answered, by the consummation of their grand object---*in getting into place.*

It is this for which they have been fighting with so much vigour;---it is for this purpose, and not for the happiness of the country, as they pretend, that they wish to goad the minister into making a disgraceful peace. For they are aware, that if the present ministers should make a safe, a lasting, and an honourable peace, (which *it is probable, and much to be wished,* they soon will) the Opposition will then be farther than ever from the fulfilment of their views; their hopes will vanish into the same air that contains their promises and fine speeches; because they will
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then see, our present ministry will be more respected, looked up to, and depended upon, than they have ever hitherto been.

Thus we plainly see how far the opposition folks in parliament are our real friends, and how far they consider the interest of the people, when it is put into the balance with their own.

As to the fine things they say about the French, I think we have plainly seen that they have made a great fuss about what, in fact, they ought, for the sake of their own plans and purposes, to have endeavoured to conceal.

The French government is run mad; and, like the maniac who rages in despair, must exhaust *itself*, and sink gradually to calmness, before peace and serenity can be restored to it.

People are mistaken, who imagine that the French will, at length, be settled in their form of government, when the present storm ceases. The fickle disposition of that nation, having now lost all restraint, and shaken off all authority, will lead them into farther excesses, till some, with wise heads, shall seize the reins of government; and, finding from experience, that no body can subsist without a head, shall wisely erect the standard of true liberty, on the firm and generous basis of the British constitution---a constitution which is, without dispute, the grandest

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and most glorious fabric that was ever erected by the wisdom and skill of man.

They will learn to distinguish the nice and material difference between liberty and licentiousness; and, by regulating principles of action, they will emulate the virtues and the honour of Englishmen.

When that period shall arrive, with what pleasure, with what heart-felt satisfaction, will my countrymen applaud their own conduct, in withstanding the riotous temptations and fallacious doctrines of those who are at present attempting to deceive them! With what horror will they look back to the time, when England was on the eve of following the fatal example of France, misled by the pernicious examples of her advocates and emissaries!

Unhappy land! while I abhor thy crimes, I lament thy fall! May the dark clouds disperse that hover over thee! May the voice of sorrow cease, and the song of joy and festivity be again heard in thy plains! May war, which has desolated thee, and sent thy children to captivity, fly soon and far away; and may peace, returning, shed joy and happiness upon thee!

But it is much to be feared, we shall never see France restored to tranquillity. Under the present form, we certainly never shall. Let my
countrymen

countrymen wait the event; and if ever they can prove that France, under her present constitution, is flourishing and happy, I will then be the first to advise a similar search after felicity here; and this I will venture to do, because I am persuaded that Englishmen will never run into those barbarous excesses which have distinguished the struggle for French liberty, and discovered that nation to the world the enthusiastic cannibals, and enlightened savages of Europe.

My countrymen, I know not whether I have explained to your satisfaction what are the motives of these pretended friends of ours; but, for my own part, I am thoroughly convinced, that all their fine talk about liberty is a mere chimaera, and deserving only to be attended to by old women and children.

As to their stuff about equality, of which some of them prate, I would not affront your good sense so much as to think, for a moment, that you could admit the idea of it; because the arguments against it are so obvious to every one, that it is hardly credible that any one should be so weak as to be imposed upon by it.

Let us each put to ourselves the case, and ask whether we should approve of finding among us those whom, in point of birth, of fortune, or of talent, we have hitherto considered as our inferiors?

I never saw a man so low, but he found some one lower than he, from whom he exacted deference and respect; and there are few so poor, but can find some poorer, whom they would be sorry to see placed on a similar footing with themselves.

I have heard those who possessed competence, lament the want of profusion; but I have seen those who pined in want, hardened by suffering, and enduring, with sullen obstinacy, the buffets of fortune, and the distresses of poverty. Man is not contented in a middling state. The weary traveller, who, on the approach of night, sees before him a high and rugged mountain, will despair of reaching the summit, and rest contented at its foot, rather than endure the fatigue and hardship that would attend the attainment of the height. But one who has reached half way on the journey, when he sees night approach, will push forward with industry and resolution, to reach the goal in which he vainly imagines contentment to reside.

Thus I divide into *two* classes only the people of this country. The middling ranks, who are not rich, will toil industriously to become so; and, therefore, merit the consummation of their wishes.

The idea of making all men equal, is surely one of the most ridiculous that ever entered into
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the head of man; and it is as unnatural as it is absurd.

Before we admit of such a doctrine as this, we must destroy all VIRTUE, all COMMON-SENSE, and all SUPERIORITY OF SENSE and INTELLECT. Even savages have an idea of subordination, and elect one man, who is the sovereign over all: it is probable that this, therefore, is most natural. AGE must ever be above YOUTH; VIRTUE must ever be above VICE; WISDOM must ever be above FOLLY; STRENGTH above WEAKNESS, and so on. WEALTH must ever be above POVERTY too; because we know *few* people are rich, but what are so either by their own industry or the industry of their fore-fathers. There are some exceptions, it is true, to this rule; because there are men in the world who get money dishonestly. But these men I do not speak of as our superiors; they are deserving of our contempt.

If any man becomes rich by honest industry, or is so by inheritance of his father's property, and hires a poor man as his servant, paying him wages as such, can it be thought for a moment, that that servant is equal to his master, to whom he is under obligation even for his livery? Certainly not; and those who would persuade us they are, must either be very great knaves, or very great fools.

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I shall dismiss this subject, because I believe there are few so mad or so weak to think much on it;—and we will now consider what is to be done about the present high price of bread, and scarcity of provisions.

It is a well-known truth, and a lamentable one, that while the rich are endeavouring, by the use of substitutes, to save as much bread as possible, that many of our poor refuse to eat any but of the finest flour. While this continues to be the case, they certainly are not deserving of any encouragement or support; nor do I think that such merit any of the attentions of benevolence and humanity.

I have seen, in print, many ingenious and well-intended plans for decreasing the consumption of wheat; but I have never seen more than one, that was deserving either attention or experiment.

Potatoe bread may be an excellent expedient, but the trouble of mixing the potatoes with the flour is so great, that the bakers declare they cannot make it for less money than the regular wheaten loaf. This, therefore, will not do.

Some *wise* folks have voted for abolishing the use of all pies and puddings; this, however, would save so inconsiderable a quantity, that it is scarce worth speaking of.

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The most probable method of lightening the evil, and encreasing the stock, by diminishing the consumption, is by the use of oaten-bread. There are no set of men more hardy or healthy than the Scotch, and these live entirely on oaten-cakes. Now, as many people are extremely fond of this sort of bread, I see no reason why a mixture of oat-meal and wheaten flour should not make exceeding wholesome and palatable bread.

I have also eat bread or cakes, made of potatoes and rice, which I have found very palatable and agreeable.

The oat-meal, however, is the great object I would wish to see attended to; and, when the poor shall find the example set by their superiors, it is much to be hoped they will follow it.

It is no difficult matter to ascertain the real cause of the present scarcity, being previously well assured that the scarcity is *real*, and not, as by many has been supposed, a scarcity of artificial and false creation. While I say this, I am no alarmist. I have the good of my country at heart, and wish to see such active measures taken, as may ultimately turn out for its benefit and welfare.

For this scarcity, some people abuse our rulers. The want of wheat, as we all know, is the great origin of our distress. We must not, however, find fault with ministers for this evil; we must arraign

arraign the justice of Providence, for giving us a scanty harvest.

It has been urged, however, that it was the business of government to know this, and that there was likely to be a want; but the fact is, that where monopolies exist, they are not so easily discovered. Our farmers, now-a-days, who used to be, proverbially, the most hard-working and diligent body of people in the world, are now no longer laborious, because they are poor; but are become luxurious, because they are rich. We have now none but such as are distinguished by the truly facetious name of GENTLEMEN FARMERS; men of independent fortunes, not the earnings of their own industry, but inherited, probably, from their fore-fathers, and which is laid out in lands and farms to employ and encrease it.

Hence arises the great evil of monopoly. When this island was less prosperous and less luxurious, the country was divided into small tenements and farms, possessed by such laborious people as I have just mentioned; such as depended for their livelihood on industry and œconomy; and carried to a fair and moderate market the fruits of their labour, to furnish their families with food.

But we have now no farmers of this description;

tion; they are all opulent, and, I fear, too often oppressive. Being above necessity themselves, they feel too little for the necessities of others; but can afford to hold out their goods at a higher price, and to carry them home if they will not produce that price.

Thus, perhaps, the corn-factor is forced to pay nearly double for his wheat, and *he* retails it to the bakers, reserving an additional profit to himself; and by this means, having passed through several hands, and each exacting a profit, before the consumer receives it in the shape of bread, it is mounted to that exorbitant price, which has for so long a time been the standard of our bread.

But even a worse evil, and a more unpardonable crime, it is to be feared, has been practised by some of these very factors.

Those who are poor dare not risk even a little, for fear of losing that little; but the rich may afford to run hazards which the poor dare not. Thus it is then that our opulent factors, not satisfied with the sale of their corn at an English market, and ever avaricious of obtaining more than they possess, fear not to run the hazard of discovery and loss, but venture to export, (however strenuously forbidden) their wheat and flour to foreign markets, which fo-

reign markets are, probably, the markets of our enemies.

I do not absolutely affirm that this has been the case; but there is, I am sorry to say, too much reason to believe it.

It is a matter most sincerely to be regretted, that our ministers have, as yet, taken no decisive steps towards making the bread cheaper. It is true, we have been recommended to eat less bread, and to use substitutes, in compliance with the example of many of the rich. But Mr. Fox has set all his party against this, by observing, that the RICH *do not want* bread so much as the POOR.

The only effective measure, I can conceive, would be to enforce the mixture of oat-meal and wheat, by means of an act of parliament.

Even in that case, there is no doubt, there would be found those among us, who would complain of the hardship; and abuse and vilify ministers, because they were endeavouring to do them good.

To such perpetual and ill-founded discontents, our enemies are ever *working us up*—those who wish us to be unhappy till they have attained their ends; when, instead of being imaginarily, they will make us really so.

Much more might be said on this subject,
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and many more arguments might be adduced, to prove that we are equally happy under the present administration, as we shall ever be under any other; and to convince those who wish for riot and confusion, that the readiest way to see their burthens lightened is, to remain peaceable and quiet till the present scarcity shall be past, and till the war shall be terminated by a lasting and honourable peace.

Englishmen! I have hitherto addressed your UNDERSTANDINGS, I will now address your HEARTS. Let me entreat those of you, who have hitherto been led away, (*deluded and unthinking*), to return to your reason---to yourselves. Think only for a moment, and you will be convinced, that those who would urge you forward to REBELLION now, will urge you forward to MURDER, after you *have* rebelled.

Think of this, and remember, *those of you* that have *aged parents*, or *children*, that these will not be spared. When the bloodhounds of civil war are let loose, those who are united to us by the strongest ties of friendship or consanguinity, will not be saved, because they are our friends. No! we have seen instances enough of this sort, in the course of the French Revolution. Let me beseech you, therefore, by all that you hold most dear, to open your eyes to the evil machinations

nations of your secret enemies ; regard them as men who would tempt you to destruction, and look forward to the time when, by being good subjects, you will be happy ones. Let me beseech you to remember, that the present clamour and discontents of some of you, give courage and resolution to our enemies, who are in daily hopes, that your outcries will induce our minister to *petition* FRANCE for a *disgraceful* ---a REGICIDE PEACE !

May England long remain happy, and shortly see the cessation of all hostilities ! May the dæmons of discord who have hovered over her be driven away ; and may the malignity of our external and internal foes, be converted into a fearful rod, to scourge their own follies and their own vices !



FINIS.

